1: Gifford

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[For information on the voluntary exile of people to remote islands for political or military reasons, see Categories 166 and 727.]

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[1812-1845]

rified, and said, "Takai knows about the intended assassination." They tried to pacify Takai and took refuge with the priest and those whom he favored. 173 669

But Takai was satisfied and he said: "Tupoutoa, we did not come to Vavau to seek wealth, but as your warriors, and here are you preparing to assassinate us. I will sail for Otea, and if you have a man let him come and we will fight." And they loaded and sailed for Otea and waited there. And Vavau and Tupoutoa were more afraid than ever at what Takai had said. And they decided to try again for reconciliation with Takai. 726

They talked and talked and decided that Vuki should ask permission to sail with him to Haapai and Tonga, because they were afraid lest Takai should go to Haapai and destroy everything and kill the people. So Vuki went to Otea. And Takai granted Vuki's request and after about five days they left. Vuki went with them to Haapai. Takai did nothing there because of his love for Vuki. They stayed a very short time at Haapai, then left for Tonga. Two or three years after the war at Feletoa, Takai died, [presumably about 1815 or 1816], and his younger brother [Fae] ruled in his place at Pea.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU TUPOUTOA AND HIS SON TAUFAAHAU, 1812-1845[1]

I will not relate in this narrative the wars that were fought in former times, because that was the way of this foolish land, as though they ate the war as food. But we will talk about the war that was fought by the heathen. The war that Tupoutoa, the lord or father of Taufaahau, fought was waged during the time of a great epidemic called *ngangau* (pain in the head). That sickness was brought by a vessel from Fiji. The vessel's name was Uluvalu. The sickness raged badly in the three groups, Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. It is said that they were not able to carry the dead away and bury them. It was at this time that the war came to the remnant of people that escaped. 173 669 164 731 726 726

The army faced from Hihifo towards the middle district of Tongatabu and it is said that the army was instructed by the chief Vaea of Houma to have the heads of their warriors bound with coconut fiber rope and fastened with a wedge, so that their heads should not be smashed with the club. The armies met at a fortress called Teekiu. Then a very strong army of the famous warrior Takai of Pea, came up behind them and the army of the Tui Kanokupolu was surrounded. Suddenly a great applause was heard and the king's warriors disputed and turned around. The people said that they had not applauded but that it was the gods that had applauded. Anyway, that was the way that the king's warriors knew that they were surrounded. Tupoutoa commanded that the bands of warriors should turn back to back so that the front lines should face the fortress and the back lines face the enemy at the rear. As they did so the armies clashed. They fought towards the fort, but the army at the back was pressing strongly on them, even though the warriors were not afraid, because they had confidence in Vunivalu's command, which was good. If they had been few in number and afraid, or if the king had not been there to lead, it could not have been done. This was the king of the family of Lolopaongo [Vahai] and Haa Vakatolo. The army of Takai was badly hit by the band of warriors at the back. The army facing the fort also did good work. It is said that Takai was badly wounded in this battle. He would have been killed had it not been for his brave warriors. After the battle Tupoutoa asked for a reconciliation, and they had peace. Each chief went with his own people and dwelt in his own fort, and Tonga was left to the rule of Tupoutoa. 714 173 726 669 [728]

There were wars that were fought at Vavau and which originated perhaps by the uprising of Vavau. After a time Tupoutoa became angry, collected the warriors of Tonga and went and fought Vavau and conquered it. He removed the chiefs and took

[1] Upon the request of J. Jiosaia Hau, the scribe of Wellington Tupou-Malohi Ngu (King George II's mother's brother, who would have been king had he lived), this narrative has been dictated by Peter Vi (3).

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them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini, and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting. 173 669 726

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it had not been for this they might have succeeded. [177] [713] 173 725 669 726

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*, a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten. [411] 173 669 726

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war. As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820. [727] 173 643 763

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that [the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people 173 643 764

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a vessel arrived from Haapai to tell Finau and Taufaahau of the marriage of Halaevalu Mataaho (Taufaahau's sister) to Tui Haa Teiho. That seemed to show the ill feeling of Ulukalala because he would not let a good vessel, or anyone as sent from him, go to the feast. But Taufaahau went in the Lofanga vessel that had brought the news. He went in the small vessel called Fungahaafuluhao and they were Ulukalala's own relations, Matetau and Fakatulolo and some others who accompanied him. Ulakai came from Tonga with two vessels with a great number of people. All Haapai assembled at Tungua for the ceremony. After that the people of Vavau were sent back, but Taufaahau remained at Haapai and dwelt at Pangai, Lifuka. 173 669 726

It was apparent that Taufaahau's disposition or ability was not hidden from these two groups. If we refer to ancient games, there was no one like him. At all the games of the different entertainments he was the best, the handsomest, and the most ready to perform. The Tui Tonga [Laufilitonga, who was actually not yet Tui Tonga] dwelt with a great number of people in his fort of Velata, Lifuka, and strengthened it. It was awful the way that Taufaahau and his few people were treated. Taufaahau could not stand it so he went to war. Foa Island sided with the Tui Tonga and the warriors of the Tui Tonga acted discreetly. They were afraid lest Taufaahau's warriors would rush upon Fangaleounga, Foa, so they therefore sent a *tokaikolo* (person familiar with the place) there. That night Taufaahau's warriors forded over Makapulepule (the reef connecting Lifuka and Foa islands), and lay in ambush outside the fort till it was dawn. When it was nearly dawn they climbed over the fence and killed the people in the fort. The *tokaikolo* was also killed. Many escaped and were saved, but many were killed. They burnt the fort and returned to Lifuka. 173 725 726 669

After that they sat and watched each other, the Tui Tonga in the fortress Velata and Taufaahau's warriors at Pangai, Lifuka. At this time Taufaahau was appointed Tui Haapai. Suddenly the warriors of the Tui Tonga from Velata made a rush, thinking to storm the fort of Tui Haapai at Pangai. They came one day at noon. It was a big army, as nearly all Haapai was there. Tui Haapai's warriors tried to withstand them. The battle raged and they shouted from the seaside of the fort that they were nearly overcome and Taufaahau went to their assistance and turned out the enemy. A little while after they shouted from the land side of the fort that they were nearly overcome and he rushed to their assistance. Others shouted from different places. Taufaahau always went to their assistance. Just like a god was Taufaahau in this battle, in his fighting for his fort. They fought till night and the fort was not taken, but the enemy seized Taufaahau's vessels and said, "We will leave the taking of the fort till tomorrow morning." But that night Taufaahau sent a vessel to Malupo at Uiha with a message, saying, "Here am I left alone. I expect the fighting to be renewed at dawn." The warriors came that night and in the morning the fort was in an excited state for war. The enemy thought they had received reinforcements, as there seemed a great number in the fort and a gun shot was heard. But it was only Taufaahau's little army of the day before. They were few and had no guns, but he was able to withstand the army of the Tui Tonga, although they were many and had guns. The first man to be shot was Malu and he died. Then they [the Tui Tonga's troops] knew that Taufaahau's troops were in the fort, as there was a European gun. They all retreated, taking shelter behind big *puko* trees. They kept shouting for the garrison to come outside the fence and the garrison shouted in return for them to come into the fort. They kept up the fighting from outside, but it was no use. And at last it was known to the warriors from Tungua, Nomuka, Haafeva, and Lofanga islands and they entered Taufaahau's fort as reinforcements. Now Velata began to get into difficulties. [411] [411] [178]

Ulukalala at Vavau heard that there was war and they (he and the chiefs) consulted together to put an end to the war. And Taufaahau and Laufilitonga agreed and the war ended. Finau said that Taufaahau was to be Tui Haapai (ruler of Haapai) and that Haapai was to be his, but he was to be peaceful and go and dwell at Uiha and the other islands and leave the Tui Tonga to dwell at Lifuka, 173 728 669

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because if they dwelt near together their people would not dwell in peace but would create discord. Then there would be another war. The Tui Haapai listened and they were reconciled and then he went to Uiha. Ulukalala did this perhaps because he thought that Tui Haapai would not be contented to live at Uiha, but Taufaahau went and dwelt at Mataaho, Uiha, and often went to Lofanga. There he built his ship called Lolohea. When it was finished he brought it to Uiha to make its sails. After some time he sailed to Tonga and went and lived with Maafu and had dancing entertainments with the children of Maafu. But the people of Tonga did not like that as they were afraid, for they knew that he was a strong man. After staying some time, he went to Eua on a friendly visit to Kaufana. He took with him two fishing canoes. He returned from there with three guns. He came and stayed some time in Tonga, then prepared to sail for Haapai. Some thought that when he reached Haapai that there would be a disturbance. Some men went with him from Tonga.

When they came it seemed that the people of the Tui Tonga wished to cause strife. If their vessel went to the outer islands, they caused a disturbance. It was too much for Taufaahau to stand.

He prepared the biggest vessel in Haapai for him to sail to Tonga and it was called the Uluvalu (*ulu*, head; *valu*, eight). More than a hundred people could go in her, and he sailed from Lifuka and stopped at Haafeva. And Taufaahau said that there should be a vessel from the Tui Tonga's fort sailing with him. His brother (or cousin) Fuatalevu was a chief that had been to Fiji, and Taufaahau loved him. That was the way, as it is now, with Taufaahau—his love for his enemies made him fight only when driven to it by aggression. He did not wish to take the vessel. Taufaahau's warriors were very angry and crashed their weapons. They went on board their vessel with him and returned to Uiha. The other vessel remained. When they reached Uiha the Tui Tonga was there with his people. They came and pushed Taufaahau's people. That day passed and still Taufaahau did not wish to fight the people of the vessels of Laufilitonga.

Next morning the people of the Tui Tonga went on board their vessels. Had they all gone it would have been all right, but the warriors were told not to sail to Tatafa Island but to go overland there. They went and pushed the warriors of Taufaahau, who were at the land's end, to the sand and both sides said, "Velo! (Throw the spear), Velo!" A man called Kuli, on the Tui Tonga's side, threw the spear. Moalatea was killed. The warriors from Velata (the Tui Tonga's warriors) were chased and they went over the ford connecting Uiha and Tatafa. Taufaahau was then told that it was war. He pursued them over the ford, but the army of the Tui Tonga had reached Tatafa. Taufaahau gave chase but the enemy was too far ahead. The guns were fired from the Tui Tonga's side and killed one of the warriors of Taufaahau. Taufaahau's warriors chased them till they escaped in their vessels at the end of the land at Auhangamea (the northern end of Tatafa Island). But one vessel's anchor caught and it was dragged on shore. The rest of the vessels sailed for Lifuka. Taufaahau's warriors ran back to Uiha. They ran and put food into their vessels at Veitupu. I should think that they ran nearly three miles and the vessels sailed and chased the enemy to Lifuka. If their vessels had been near they might have caught the Tui Tonga's vessels and killed the people or killed them at sea. But when they reached Lifuka all the warriors had gone to their own places and they fought from outside. And Lavulavu was sent to the Tui Tonga's chiefs to tell them they had chased them at their own wish. It was for what they had done, but they had escaped here. "Well let them stay and take care of their land, while we go back to our island." They set sail and returned to Uiha.

A message from Taufaahau was sent to the outer islands as far as Nomuka for them to assemble, as it was to be war. It was as though the army of the Tui Tonga had gone mad. They each became drunk and went to Foa to attend to other things. They thought that war would not start so soon, but after about five days all the different islands had assembled and Taufaahau led or steered the fleet. The fort (Velata, the Tui Tonga's fort) knew that they were coming and all

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hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, so that nobody but great chiefs may use them for food, under pain of death. This *táboo* lasts about eight months. When Mr. Mariner first arrived at these islands, Tooitonga, the predecessor of the present Tooitonga, had just died, and the ceremony of his burial was being performed; though this gentleman had not the opportunity of witnessing it. All the feasting consequent upon this event being over, the *táboo* was imposed upon the articles above named; and now, after the lapse of eight months, comes the period to take it off, and the accomplishment of this constitutes the ceremony in question. It must be mentioned, by the way, that two or three plantations are not subject to this *táboo*, to the end that hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, may be furnished for occasional religious rites, and for the consumption of the higher order of chiefs. If the removal of the *táboo* were not performed in due time, it is supposed that the Gods would become exceedingly angry, and revenge themselves by the death of some of their great chiefs.

Finow, as before stated, seeing no appearance of an enemy, and being anxious to return to Hapai for the performance of this ceremony, consulted the Gods, and was admonished by them to proceed to the Hapai islands as soon as possible. With this view, he at first intended to

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make some further arrangements with Tarky', and to leave a hundred of his men to garrison Nioocalofa till his return: but being advised not to do so, lest this chief should prove treacherous, and put his hundred men to death, he resolved to give the fortress wholly up to Tarky's possession, and not run the risk of losing his men. He accordingly ordered the canoes to be launched, and stored with provisions; and having given up Nioocalofa to Tarky's chiefs, upon their faithful promise to take all due care of it, he went on board with all his army the same afternoon, and landed at Pangaimotoo, intending to sail the following morning for the Hapai islands.

During the night, a great fire was seen at Tonga, towards Nioocalofa, and the fortress itself was suspected to be on fire; but whether from accident, or the treachery of Tarky', Finow was resolved to learn as soon as possible. Before sunrise, therefore, he sent out a canoe to make inquiry: it soon returned with the information, received from a well disposed subject of Tarky', that the place was burnt by order of that chief, whilst Finow was in sight, on purpose to vex and irritate him. At this insult, Finow was so enraged, that he resolved to go back immediately, and exterminate Tarky' and all his family: but the priests persuaded him

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ticular request. They brought intelligence that it was not the wish of Toe Oomoo and her chiefs to be at war with Hapai, but that they considered it a duty they owed to themselves to act with strong measures in regard to Finow, whom they esteemed of so treacherous a character, that a peace with him now would only be the forerunner of disaster and inglorious death to themselves, and on this account, they chose rather to meet their fate in the field, than to live an idle and peaceful life for a short time, and at length be cruelly murdered to satisfy his revenge.—They moreover stated that it was the determination of the Vavaoo warriors to rush out suddenly upon the white men, and take possession of the guns.

A few days afterwards, all affairs being settled in regard to the management of the plantations, the canoes were refitted and launched, and early in the morning the king, and all the forces with him, (about 4000 strong) proceeded to Haano, about three leagues to the north, to join those who, according to orders, were waiting for them. At Haano, the king was received with customary feasting and rejoicing, and on the following day the gods were consulted in regard to the expedition. The answer was similar to the admonition formerly given, viz. that the king should first proceed to Va-

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669 726 787 728 vaoo with three canoes only, with such men as had few or no relations at Vavaoo (lest they should be tempted to desert), but above all with such also as had not been instrumental in the assassination of Toobó Nuha, nor had been formerly his adherents, lest their presence might excite still farther the anger of the Vavaoo people; and, thus accompanied, should offer terms of peace in the most friendly manner. 669 728 634 Finow, having by this time had sufficient opportunity to reflect coolly and deliberately, and therefore more wisely, upon this business, entered readily into the measure. Three canoes were got ready, and Finow, with some of the choicest fighting men, of such description as the oracle approved of, went on board: Mr. Mariner was in the king's canoe, and two other Englishmen were on board one of the others, and they proceeded towards Vavaoo. As they approached the shores of this island they came up with several canoes belonging to it, endeavouring to make their escape, for they fancied these were only the head canoes of a large fleet drawing near to make an attack upon Vavaoo. The king, however, informed them that he was not coming with warlike intentions, but that his object was peace, and he was paying them a visit for the sole purpose of adjusting matters amicably; he then dis-

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missed them, and they paddled away immediately for that part of the island where the great fortress was situated. As the expedition passed a point about five miles to the southward of the fort, a number of natives were seen on the beach, painted and dressed after the manner of war, and armed with clubs and spears; they menaced the visitors with every martial gesture, furiously splashing up the water with their clubs, and shouting the war-whoop loudly and repeatedly. When they had proceeded a little farther, there came up to them a canoe from the garrison, with a warrior named Ta e Tangata: he wore a turban* on his head, and stated that he came, with leave from Toe Oomoo, to enquire if any of Toobó Nuha's murderers were on board, for he was ready, he said, to fight them, and lay down his life in honour of that great and matchless chief. Finow, in answer, told him the purpose of his coming, and that there were none of Toobó Nuha's murderers on board, and as to himself, he was perfectly well disposed to make a peace, and, whatever his enemies

* It will be recollected, that turbans are only worn by day-time, when within sight of an enemy, &c. see p. 158. This man, therefore, came as an enemy. This head-dress may be considered a signal of defiance, or, at best, of independence and equality.

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might think of him, that was the object which was nearest his heart. No sooner did the Vavaoo warrior hear this unexpected declaration, than he pulled off his turban, and taking a piece of cava root, went on board Finow's canoe, and, having presented the cava to the king, he kissed his feet as a mark of respect. The king then dismissed him, desiring him to relate to his chiefs the object of his coming, and that he should the same evening, if they would permit him, pass on to Neafoo *, to leave cava there, and the following morning proceed to the fortress, to adjust terms of peace. As soon as the warrior departed with his message,
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Finow directed his course up an inlet to Neafoo, where he arrived and landed without any opposition, and, having left cava with the usual ceremony (see p. 89), he returned on board, and passed the night in another branch of the inlet leading up to the fortress; towards which, early the following morning, he proceeded with
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the three canoes. At first, he intended to land in person, and ascend the hill to address the garrison; but from this he was dissuaded by his chiefs: he then determined to go near to

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* Neafoo is situated on the N. E. shore of Vavaoo, and is a consecrated place, like Mafánga, formerly described, where the ceremony of Tooge was performed. At Neafoo are several houses consecrated to different gods.

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the shore in a small canoe which they had in tow, and be led along the shelf by his mata-booles, wading through the water, which was scarcely three feet deep; to this also his friends objected, being apprehensive that, if he left the large canoe in the way he proposed, and approached too near the beach, his temper might be so worked into a rage by the insults of the natives, as to induce him to rush on shore, and run the risk of being killed; but Finow replied, by way of apology for not yielding to their advice, that it was the part of a brave man to keep himself perfectly cool and collected when insulted, and that he was resolved to act up to this character. Matters being thus arranged, he went into the small canoe, and was led along by the matabooles. As they drew near to the shore, many of the natives called out to them, saying a number of things in derision: one threw them a piece of yam, another a piece of pork, telling them it was to be the last they should get from Vavaoo*; then they enquired whether they were not quite tired of living upon the scanty allowance of the Hapai

* Vavaoo is famous for good yams, and great quantities of hogs, as well as for *gnatoo* of a finer quality, and better printed; the tree, from which the printing colour is procured, being very scarce, and very inferior, at the Hapai islands.

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669 728 634 [578] islands: they next threw them a piece of gnatoo, advising them, in the most friendly manner, to wear that instead of scrubbing their skins with the coarse mats of Hapai; and, as this was all they meant to give them, they were to tear it in small pieces, divide it among them, and each wear a rag. During all these insults, the king, contrary to the expectation of every one (for he was of a very irritable temper), kept himself perfectly cool, and said nothing. When he had arrived near enough to address them conveniently, he made a speech of about an hour's length, in which, with a wonderful degree of art and eloquence, he endeavoured to persuade them that he was perfectly innocent of the death of Toobó Nuha; and that he should be exceedingly sorry if their mistaken notions of his sentiments and conduct should occasion a war with Vavaoo: he told them how much he loved and respected his aunt (Toe Oomoo), and how unhappy he should be, if the late unfortunate affair, which he could neither well foresee nor help, should occasion a quarrel with her: nothing grieved him more, he said, than that his best intentions should be thus regarded with suspicion, but he hoped that their candour and liberality, upon a little cool reflection, would lead them to place that confidence in him, which his own consciousness of

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upright intentions gave him reason to expect, and he trusted that they would submit to his rule and government as formerly. To this, some of the Vavaoo chiefs replied, that they should be willing enough to acknowledge him king, as formerly, provided he would reside altogether at Vavaoo, and interdict all communication with the Hapai people, among whom there were many designing chiefs, of whose treacherous policy they had good reason to be afraid: or, if he did not choose to remain altogether at Vavaoo, he might reside at Hapai, and they would send him annual tribute, as usual, upon condition that neither he, nor his chiefs, nor any of the people of Hapai, would visit Vavaoo under any pretext whatsoever; for, as they were quite tired of disturbances and insurrections, they heartily wished to keep away all who were promoters of discord, all ambitious and discontented chiefs; all, in short, whose tempers were too fickle to love a peaceful and quiet life: and, as to the large fortress, they declared it had been constructed merely for the purpose of self defence. Finow then took up the discourse, stating, that he could not give his consent to terms which were inconsistent with his dignity, as supreme governor both of Hapai and Vavaoo, and that it was exceedingly hard he should suffer for the rashness

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and impolicy of others, and that they should cease to put that confidence in his wisdom and justice which he hoped he had always merited. He then repeated the arguments in favour of his innocence, and, in conclusion, urged a proof of his love and affection for the people of Vavaoo, by reminding them of the readiness with which he formerly joined their late beloved chief, in the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo, and, by this means, freed Vavaoo and all the Tonga islands of a tyrant; and of the ardour with which he fought in alliance with that great hero, in the memorable battle of Tonga; and, although afterwards they (the Vavaoo people) opposed (from a mistaken notion) his progress in the same good cause, yet how happy they had been since their submission to him, and had received from his authority a good and wise chief (Toobó Nuha), and now that this great man had fallen a sacrifice to the ambition or malice of others, was it on that account that they ought to forego their reliance on the love and affection which he had hitherto so conspicuously shewn them? "But, as you seem "disposed," said he, "to live in idleness and "luxury, I will go and reside among a more "manly people, and prosecute war against the "island of Tonga." In reply to all this, they again assured him of their love and respect

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for him as an individual, but, as they were determined to live free, they would neither propose nor accept of any other terms. The king then ordered his matabooles to conduct him to his canoe, and, turning towards the Vavaoo people, said, "Live, then, among yourselves "in idleness, and we will return to Hapai."

During the time that Finow was addressing the Vavaoo people, the matabooles and warriors that surrounded his canoe (among whom was Mr. Mariner) appeared much moved, and several shed tears, for his powers of persuasion were such, that, in defending his own cause, he seemed to be the most worthy, the most innocent, and the most unjustly used: on this account the greater chiefs and old matabooles of Vavaoo remained in the fortress, fearing to listen to his arguments, lest, being drawn aside by the power of his eloquence, they might mistake that for true which was not, and even lead the young and ardent warriors into an error, by persuading them that what he said was reasonable and just.

The fortress, on the top of a steep rising ground, as seen from the canoes, presented a most formidable and warlike appearance: its extent seemed enormous, and the tops of the white reeds, which were seen at a distance above the banks of red clay, the whole being

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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669 726 784 761 death as a punishment for his late offence. This too was the general opinion of the people, and was the subject of their conversation for a long time afterwards, contributing to spread a considerable gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali died about half an hour after he was brought home.

669 723 [728] [634] [726] [712] Finow already began to grow tired of the war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his genius, he loved rather a few hard fought engagements and a speedy conquest. The enemy shewed no disposition to come forth from their strong hold and attack him; and he had found by experience, that even the guns produced no sensible effect upon their fortification, situated upon an eminence, and defended by walls of clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he did not choose that his wish should be known, lest it should be attributed to fear or any other unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring about a peace, without being thought to *wish* for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this,

669 634 728

[727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

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He was, however, by no means deficient in policy, and he soon thought of a method. From time to time he held secret conferences with the priests, chiefly either upon religious subjects or upon political matters, as connected with the will of the gods. He spoke of his determination to remain at Vavaoo and prosecute the war till his enemies were destroyed; then on a sudden, as if his heart for the moment relented, he painted in the most striking colours the evils of war, and how sorry he was that the necessity of the case obliged him to punish his rebellious subjects with so dire an evil. He then represented, in the most lively colours, the blessings of peace, and on this side of the prospect touched his hearers so with the beauty of the description that they entreated him to endeavour to make a peace. He then pretended to be inexorable, but always threw in something in favour of the Vavaoo people, so that the priests at length thought there was no question at all about the propriety and honour of making a peace, and that it was their duty to persuade him to do it, for when they were inspired they had the same sentiment, and of course they considered it to be the sentiment of the gods, and represented it to him as such; when he, pretending to submit only because it was the divine will, left the matter entirely to

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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them to negotiate, and if they succeeded, it would afford him, he said, at least one great gratification, viz. the opportunity of again renewing his friendship with his aunt Toe Oomoo, and paying her that respect which her superior relationship required.

The day after the last conference, the priests accordingly dressed themselves in mats, with wreaths of green leaves round their necks as tokens of humility, not towards the enemy, but the gods, as fulfilling a commission sacred in its nature. Thus equipped, they set out on their way to Felletoa. In the mean time, Finow gave orders that none of his men, if they met with a party of the enemy, should commit any act of hostility, but should endeavour on all occasions to avoid them by as speedy a retreat as possible, for as the gods had admonished him to endeavour to make a peace, and the priests were actually fulfilling that endeavour, any act of hostility might defeat their purpose.

The priests went four or five different times to hold conferences with the chiefs of Felletea before they could bring about a reconciliation. For although the old men seemed willing enough to listen to terms of accommodation, influenced perhaps by their prejudice in favour of Finow as their lawful king, yet the young and spirited warriors, who saw clearly enough

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into the artful character of Finow, with much less of the above prejudice, constantly objected to make peace with a man on whose honour and integrity they thought it impossible to rely with any degree of certainty, and who would again give room for a quarrel with the Vavaoo people whenever it suited his purpose. This was their real thought, and perhaps a just one: though they did not express their sentiments with such latitude to the priests: to these they merely objected their apprehensions, that in the event of a peace, Finow would, at some fit opportunity, wreak his vengeance upon them personally for having fought against him. At length, however, they said that as their lives were not a matter of so much consequence as the peace and happiness of Toe Oomoo and her people generally, they were willing to withdraw their objections, that the affair might be speedily settled according to the wishes of the older chiefs. The priests now returned to Neafoo with the warmest assurances from the chiefs of Felletoa, that they would pay Finow an amicable visit the following day.

The next morning the chiefs and warriors of Felletoa, with several women, were seen coming towards Neafoo, advancing two and two, all armed, painted and decorated with streamers, forming altogether a very beautiful and ro-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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mantic procession, bringing with them abundance of gnatoo, yams, &c. as presents to their relations. In this way they entered the fortress of Finow, and came into the king's presence on the *malái*, where he was seated with his chiefs and matabooles. The Vavaoo people then laid down their spears, which were afterwards shared out to three of Finow's principal chiefs, who again shared them out to all those below them in rank*. They seated themselves round the *malái*, and cava was prepared, the young chiefs and warriors of Felletoa waiting on the company†. All this time Finow's men were unarmed‡, (agreeably to the custom on such occasions) but by his orders the greater part remained at their houses where their arms were deposited, for he was upon his guard lest his guests had some stratagem to play: but he had merely signified to his men, that it would be better for them to remain at their houses, as it

* Mr. Mariner believes this to be always the case on such occasions; but this was the only instance of a peace formally established, that ever happened while he was there.

† It is an honourable office to assist at cava parties, it is therefore generally filled by young chiefs.

‡ The visitors come armed for the sake of parade, giving up their arms afterwards as presents; those that receive them must be unarmed as a proof of their amicable disposition, and that they do not mean to get them in their power by stratagem.

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would inspire the Vavaoo chiefs with more confidence than if they were present in a body.

During the time the cava was being served out, the king made a speech, addressed principally to the chiefs of Felletoa, in which he acknowledged that they were not to be blamed for their fears and apprehensions as long as they believed him to be the treacherous character which his enemies had represented him to be; but he hoped that these calumnies were now at an end. He was willing, he said, to excuse them for having fought in honour of the memory of their late chief Toobó Nuha, against his murderers, for if they had not done so, he should have considered them cowards; but as most of these murderers had now by their death expiated their crime, and as he himself, as he solemnly assured them, was perfectly innocent of that affair, the present peace, he was convinced, was a most honourable one to all parties. He then made the most solemn protestations of the sincerity of his intentions towards them, and as a proof of his wish to avoid all future occasions of quarrel, he should send back all his people to the Hapai islands, except a few matabooles, who were to remain with him at Vavaoo, which, for the future, he should make his place of residence, out of the love and respect he had for them; whilst he should con-

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669 sign the government of the Hapai islands to
728 Toobó Tòa, who was to send him annual tri-
[634] bute.

When the cava was finished the company rose up, and the Vavaoo party returned to Felletoa, to prepare an entertainment for the Hapai people the following day.

634 Early the next morning all the chiefs, mata-
669 booles, and warriors of Neafoo, painted and de-
728 corated themselves with streamers, and put on
541 mats, in token of Finow's inferiority as a rela-
[292] tion to his aunt Toe Oomoo, chief of the for-
[301] tress of Felletoa. They took spears in their
[604] hands, and, thus equipped, marched out of
[431] Neafoo, two and two, with Finow at their head, carrying with them presents for their relations
634 in the opposite garrison. In this order they
669 entered Felletoa, and proceeded to the *malái*,
728 where all the chiefs and matabooles of Toe
604 Oomoo were seated ready to receive them. A quantity of hogs, yams, and fowls, were deposited in the middle of the circle, at the upper end of which a place was left vacant for the king to preside in, for, his aunt not being there,
[276] he was the greatest chief present. Had Toe
[574] Oomoo been also present, she must have presided, at the head of the circle, and the king, as her inferior relation, must have seated himself opposite to her, on the outside of the cir-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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cle, among the common people; for no two relations of different rank can sit in the same circle together*. On this account, and out of respect to Finow, he being sovereign, Toe Oomoo did not make her appearance. Finow being seated, his men, as they came in, deposited their spears in the middle of the circle, to be afterwards shared out in the same manner as was done by the Vavaoo people at Neafoo the day before; they then retired to the outside of the circle, ready to wait upon the company. A large root of cava was then split into pieces, and distributed to be chewed as usual. While the cava was preparing, the provisions were shared out, ready to be eaten after the cava was drunk. This being done, and the provisions consumed, a second course of cava was prepared and served out, of which Finow having drunk a small quantity, retired to pay a visit to his aunt. When he arrived in her presence he went up to her, and, with great respect, kissed her hand, and she, in return, kissed his forehead†. He then sat down to

* An accurate and full description of the ceremonious regulations of a cava party will be given in the second volume.

† When a person salutes a superior relation, he kisses the hand of the party; if a very superior relation, he kisses the foot: the superior in return kisses the forehead. There may be some doubt as to the propriety of the term *to kiss* in this ceremony, for it is not performed by the lips after our

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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drink cava with her and her attendants, and, as she presided, he of course sat outside, facing her. When the cava was finished, he walked out to view the fortifications, on which occasion the matabooles of Toe Oomoo waited on him, and pointed out every thing worthy of notice. They descanted on the excellence of the plan, and then gave him anecdotes of the war, telling him where such a chief was killed, where another lost his arm or his leg, where a cannon-ball had struck, &c.; and, as they viewed the outside of the works, they pointed out where the different murderers of Toobó Nuha met their fate. All this, however, they told him in answer to his queries; for it is a thing very remarkable in the character of the people of Tonga, that they never exult in any feats of bravery they may have performed, but, on the contrary, take every opportunity of praising their adversaries; and this a man will do, although his adversary may be plainly a coward, and will make an excuse for him, such

usual mode, but rather by the application of the upper lip and the nostrils, and has more the appearance of smelling. When two equals are about to salute, each applies his upper lip and nostrils to the forehead of the other, or he applies his lips to the lips of the other, but without any movement of them, or smack, as in our mode. Our kiss they never adopt, not even between the sexes, but, on the contrary, always ridicule it, and term it *the white man's kiss.*

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CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of a canoe from the island of Tonga, bringing a chief and two young matabooles, with a petition from Toobo Malohi: they give an account of the late transactions there, viz. Teoo Cava, chief of Hihifo, being joined by the chiefs and men that formerly belonged to Niooca-lofa, makes an attack on the fortress of Noókoo-Noókoo, and takes it: the enemy return in the night, and set fire to it—Teoo Cava, making his escape, is stopped and killed by a Fiji islander—Conduct of Ata in the defence of Hihifo, and the bravery of Máccapápa—Grief of Teoo Cava's widows for his loss—Reference to an anecdote in the missionary voyage respecting Eliza Mosey (note)—Petition of Toobó Malóhi and his chiefs to Finow: their reception by him, and ceremony of pardon—Toobo Malohi's conversation with Finow, and his ultimate departure for the Hapai islands.

Soon after Cow Mooala's arrival from the Fiji islands, Finow received intelligence from Toobo Toa (chief of the Hapai islands) that a canoe had arrived at Lefooga, from the island of Tonga, with a chief, and two young matabooles. They came to petition Finow for pardon, in behalf of a great chief, named Toobó Malohi, elder brother of Toobo Toa, who had been long resident at the island of Tonga, and had defended the cause of Finow's enemies. As this chief brought very interesting information of all the recent events at the island of

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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repaired as quickly as possible to its own fortress, lest it should be taken possession of by some enemy. During the siege, all the women made themselves remarkable by their resolute assistance in the defence of the place; lest, for want of men, it should be taken by the enemy. The widows of Teoo Cava*, however, were so afflicted at his loss, that many of them, it is said, strangled themselves†.

At this time, Toobo Malohi sent word to his

* Speaking of Teoo Cava calls to mind a circumstance, mentioned in the second missionary voyage, respecting Eliza Mosey and a black woman, both belonging to the American ship Duke of Portland, Captain Lovat Melon; the date is not mentioned. Through the treachery of Teoo Cava, (who from mistake of pronunciation they call Ducava,) the crew were all murdered, excepting three or four persons, among whom were Eliza Mosey, and the black woman. The latter was still at the Hapai islands when Mr. Mariner left; she latterly became insane, but lived as a sort of domestic, (being harmless,) with a certain female chief, who treated her kindly. Eliza Mosey became one of the wives of Teoo Cava, who was much envied by the other chiefs on that account, she being a white woman. She made her escape afterwards, in the Union of New York, and arrived at Port Jackson, where she remained. Mr. Mariner has since accidentally heard from a woman who had been at Port Jackson, that Eliza Mosey returned afterwards to Tonga, with a ship that went for the purpose of laying in a cargo of pork, but which was shortly afterwards wrecked among the Fiji islands.

† Mr. Mariner is not quite certain whether this report be correct: for it is an undoubted fact, that suicide is exceedingly rare among them.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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brother Toobo Toa, (chief of the Hapai islands,) that being weary of his unquiet and harassing life at Tonga, and being desirous to settle at Hapai, he wished his brother to petition the king in his behalf; and to obtain, if possible, his pardon for having fought against him at Nioocalofa, and to procure leave for himself and his chiefs and matabooles to reside at Hapai, and be henceforth tributary to him. This message was brought to Toobo Toa by a chief and two young matabooles, as before stated. Toobo Toa having communicated this request of his brother and his followers to the king, the latter, after a little consideration, gave his consent that they should reside at the Hapai islands, upon condition that Toobo Toa would keep a strict eye upon his brother's conduct, and be answerable for him, which was immediately agreed to. Toobo Toa thereupon got ready a large canoe, and proceeded to Hihifo to receive his brother, who came on board with all his chiefs and choice warriors; the remainder of his attendants followed afterwards in another canoe. Having touched, in their way, at the Hapai islands, they proceeded on to Vavaoo, to pay their respects to Finow, and to receive his pardon.

As soon as the king heard of their arrival at Vavaoo, he repaired with all his chiefs and ma-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, having, besides their usual dress, small mats round the middle, significant of its being a solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble suppliant), for he was a very great chief, superior even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder brother. Toobo Malohi being informed that the king was already seated in the large house on the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his followers, being all dressed in large mats, expressive of their very great respect, with leaves of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of submission, went forth, with due sentiments, thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down before it. The priest then addressed the divine spirit that was supposed to reside there, to the following purpose: "Here thou seest the "men who have come from Tonga to implore "thy pardon for their crimes; they have been "rebels against those chiefs who hold power "from divine authority, but, being sorry for "what they have done, they hope that thou "wilt be pleased to extend thy protection to-"wards them for the future." The priest then rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the eaves of the house: after which he proceeded towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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643 669 727 728 796 799 [824] [788]

ing him, one close after another in the order of their rank, their heads bowed down, and their hands clasped before them, and, entering the house on the side opposite the king, they seated themselves before him and his matabooles, their hands still clasped together, and their heads bowed down almost to touch the ground. After a little time, the priest, who sat between them and the king, addressed the latter to the following purpose: "You here see Toobo Malohi, "and his chiefs and followers, who have been "to implore the pardon of Tali-y Toobó, and "are now come to humiliate themselves before "you: not that they expect you will pardon "them after so obstinate a rebellion, but they "come to endeavour to convince you of their "sorrow for so great and heinous a crime: "they have no expectation but to die, there- "fore your will be done*." After a short pause, the priest again said, "pass your sen- "tence, Finow:" he then rose up, and retired among the people. In a little time, Finow said to the supplicants, "*Toogooá he lo ifi*," Take off the *ifi* leaves (which is a sign of pardon): of which command they took no notice, as if unwilling to believe so great a mercy was shewn to them. Finow again said, "*Toogooá*

643 669 727 728 796 [824]

* This speech of the priest is to be considered more a matter of form than the real sentiments of the suppliants.

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"*he lo ifi*," upon which each took off his *ifi* leaves, but they all remained in the same posture. Before we go further it must be observed, that there were vacant places left among Finow's chiefs and matabooles for Toobó Malohi and his principal followers, who were of sufficient rank, to be called to after they had received their pardon; but for a great chief, circumstanced as was Toobó Malohi, to obey this summons (which is always pronounced by the mataboole sitting next to Finow) would neither be so respectful nor so prudent as to remain where he was, and take no notice of it, as if altogether unworthy of being so exalted; whilst a chief of less noble rank would not hesitate to obey the command, and take the seat appointed for him. All this is done upon the principle, that a great chief, so offending, ought to keep himself as humble as possible, lest, having great power and authority, he might be suspected of intentions to equalize himself with his superiors, and ultimately to revolt: whereas minor chiefs, having but little power, are not liable to excite jealousies: besides which, these minor chiefs, being governed by their superior, are thought to be less criminal than he who leads them astray by his authority. This formed a subject of dispute, beforehand, among the company:

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some thought that Toohó Malohi would instantly obey the order to take his appointed seat, conscious of his exalted rank, and fearless of the jealousy of Finow: the greater part, however, were of opinion, that he would remain where he was, knowing well the revengeful disposition of the *How*, and his promptitude to sacrifice those whom he suspected. In a little time this matter was put out of dispute. The mataboole on Finow's right hand exclaimed aloud, "Toobó Malohi! here is a "place for you." The chief seemed not to hear the summons, keeping his head bowed down to the earth: the mataboole again said, "Toobó Malohi! here is a place for you;" but his ears were still shut, and he preserved the same humble posture. The mataboole then said to the others successively (mentioning their names in the order of their rank), "here is a place for you;" and they accordingly seated themselves as their names were called over, in the places appointed for them (i. e. those who were of sufficient rank to sit in the circle, the others retiring among the people), leaving Toobó Malohi seated by himself in the middle of the ring. Cava was now [276] prepared, and served out to the company, each in his turn, according to his rank, not excepting Toobó Malohi, who, in this case, was

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

served the fourth: when the cava was presented to him, he neither took it nor raised up his head, but speaking to somebody who sat a little behind him, that person stretched his arms forward, and, receiving it for him, took it away, reserving it for Toobó Malohi, to drink after the cava party should be dissolved. The company, having finished their cava, dispersed, and Toobó Malohi retired to take his.

This chief and his followers remained at Vavaoo about a fortnight before they sailed to the Hapai islands; during which time he entertained Finow with an account of different transactions at Tonga, relating what conspiracies had been devised, what battles had been fought, what brave chiefs and warriors had fallen. Every time he mentioned the death of a hero, Finow struck his breast with his fist, exclaiming, "What a warrior has fallen in a "useless war!" or something to that purpose.

Before Toobó Malohi and his chiefs took their departure, Finow repeated his orders to Toobó Toa to keep a watchful eye upon them, and to give him the earliest information, if he discovered any symptoms of conspiracy, for he said he expected something of the kind, as they were all choice warriors, and had been well experienced at the Fiji islands.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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doubt, after having observed closely the features of that transaction, but that Finow meant to bring about the murder of Toobó Nuha that very night, else why did he tell Mr. Mariner not to bring his whaling knife with him? was it not that he wished to be unarmed, that he might not have an opportunity of defending Toobó Nuha? Again, he did not, before he set out from his house, send for Toobó Nuha to accompany him, but when he had got half way on his road he stopped to bathe, and in the mean while, as if it were a second and a casual thought, he sent for his victim to accompany him to the old chief's house, where they remained above two hours. Toobó Tóa was not present, and Toobó Tóa's men were getting ready a canoe for him to escape, in case he were unsuccessful. When the first blow was given, Finow could not defend Toobó Nuha, because he was *purposely* unarmed, and because Toobó Tóa's men held him, which they would not have dared to have done had they not been so ordered by their chief. Need any more be said to shew his policy?—Once more notice him, when he wishes to make a peace with the Vavaoo people, after he had kept up for some time a fruitless contest (p. 220). To have expressed this wish might have weakened him in the opinion of his enemies; what does he in

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
009 Tonga 009

this case?—he takes frequent opportunity to converse with the priests: he does not tell them that he wishes for peace, but he observes that peace would be much more advantageous for his subjects; lamenting, at the same time, that the disobedience of the Vavaoo people obliges him to have recourse to warlike measures: the minds of the priests, however, becoming strongly impressed with the advantages of peace, when inspired they advise him to make a peace; he, pretending to do as the gods admonish him, yields to the solicitation, and permits his priests to make overtures, as if this step was originally designed by them, or rather by the gods, and that he consented merely because it was a point of religious duty to do so. Thus we find him an admirable politician, although the picture is occasionally marked with traits which do no honour to his character as a man. Farther instances of this kind may be noticed, such as his cruelty towards his conquered enemies, by starving his prisoners to death in the shocking manner related p. 78, for which he could have no excuse, unless to deter others from rebellion. As to his seizing several of the Vavaoo chiefs at a cava ring (p. 276), and ordering them to be killed, it may perhaps be that they were meditating an insurrection, as he was informed;

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

563. Mata ki vae: Face to foot, that is, one who is face from head to foot, whose whole body is skillful and alert. 539 701 554 826

Applied particularly to the warrior who is not only bold and able in the use of his weapons but is also fleet-footed and able to escape by flight when flight is necessary. Used generally of the man who is capable and active in every direction.

564. Ngungu tau: Sounding war. 539 721 534

Applied primarily to the beating of the native drum for war. There were different ways of beating for different occasions. The war beat evidently produced a very full clear note, and *ngungu tau* has come to mean the note of the drum when it is specially resonant. Such a sound is today regarded as an omen that somebody will die; possibly a reminiscence from the real war beat which was a call to death. Like No. 308 this is used proverbially of signs that something is going to happen.

565. Pona-tuu: The exact literal translation is uncertain. It is perhaps Standing death-blow. 539 726 572

The thing indicated is the last effort of a warrior who seeks to slay a foe in the instant of his own fall. A great champion (*tou*) was regularly accompanied by a companion (*hoa*, comrade, *hoa-tau*, comrade in war), who was himself a doughty warrior, the friend of the greater champion in peace and his close attendant in battle. In a struggle between two champions their respective companions assisted them by attacking their adversaries from behind, each champion thus having two enemies to attend to. Should it become manifest to one of the champions that he must be overcome he would strive with his last effort to strike backwards and kill his opponent's companion as he himself fell. This last backward stroke was the *pona-tuu*. Applied generally to the final, supreme effort.

566. Popoto faka-Tongatapu: Tongatabu reconciliation. 539 728

Tongatabu was a land of war, and it was difficult to know whether a reconciliation were genuine or deceptive.

567. Ta e ta kae tapa e tapa: The strikers strike and the reserves are in reserve. 539 726

It was the business of the reserves to shout and tell who were slain. 701 The meaning of the phrase appears to be, everybody doing his own job, both those whose business is the actual fighting and those whose function it is to report the progress of the battle.

568. Ta e toa tuu e toa: A champion struck down, a champion standing.

This means that after one great warrior is slain another steps forth to oppose the foe. The word for warrior, *To'u*, differs from the word for the tree, *tou*, (*Casuarina equisetofolia*) only in having the glottal stop, and the phrase is sometimes given the meaning that after one casuarina tree is [137] [824]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 At length the enemy gave way, and fled beyond
669 Aheefo; where some retired to secret places, and
726 others to Mafanga for refuge. This was a solemn
797 spectacle to me. The thought that had I been on
[727] shore, I might have sunk into eternity in a moment, with all my unpardoned guilt upon my head, excited some concern, and awakened a few transient sensations of gratitude to Heaven.

175 Having gained a complete victory, Loogolala gave
669 orders to sail for Mafanga, and to take the refugees,
[727] but to do them no injury. Eight or nine of the chiefs, whom he took prisoners, he put into a canoe and ordered them to be taken, with a small supply of provisions, to a small distant island, at Arbai, where they had no means of escape. The lower orders were disarmed, and sent to their respective districts,
[728] to await the order of Loogolala. The whole island now submitted to him, and he appointed many of his friends governours of the different districts. He then made a descent upon the Arbai islands, which surrendered to him, and received his chiefs for their governours. From thence he proceeded to another group of islands, named Vavou, and sometimes called by the natives Afoolouou. They made no resistance, but readily yielded to his power. The principal island on which he landed, was almost covered with hogs. Loogolala had "tabooed," that is, laid an embargo upon them at this island, at the commencement of the campaign, intending, if victori-

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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might probably have taken the place by assault, but for some reason he hesitated from day to day in the hope that the enemy would themselves sue for peace. 175 643 669

Houma meanwhile had resisted all Ata's efforts to carry it by storm, and the king's troops were driven to try the expedient of starving the garrison into submission. Early in July the Houma people sued for peace, and received the king's pardon, sitting before him with *ici*-leaves, emblematic of submission, hanging from their necks. Five weeks later a large ship was reported off the anchorage, and the king, supposing it to be the help promised to the enemy from Tahiti, prepared to assault Bea before the French should have time to interfere. But she proved [177] to be H.M.S. Calliope, commanded by Sir Everard Home, who offered his services to the king as mediator with his enemies. Terms were again sent to the enemy by [728] four chiefs of high rank,—that the lives of the entire garrison should be spared, on the condition that the fort should be given over to pillage and destruction. But the enemy distrusted the faith of the king's troops, and asked for one of the missionaries and the king's son as hostages for their safety. To this the king would not consent, and the negotiations threatened to break down when news reached Nukualofa that the principal chiefs had left the fortress, and that the royal forces were sacking the place. The king, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, set off for Bea in hot haste, and traversed the four intervening miles almost at a run. They arrived just in time to prevent the victors, drunken with the excitement of rapine, from proceeding to outrage. The town was in flames, and the priests were threatened with rough treatment. By the 175 643 669 727

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ordered the erection of a *cordon* of earthworks and strong stockades, commanding all the approaches to Bea. The trenches behind which these works are to stand have already been dug.

May 10th.—The king having decided to make another proposal of peace to the Houman people, I offered to accompany the messenger, and to employ what influence a Missionary might have on such an occasion. Being well known to the Houmans, my offer was gladly accepted. We accordingly marched from Nukualofa to Nukunuku, so as to be in readiness to visit the rebel fort early in the morning. About a thousand men followed the king. As we wound along the narrow paths through the bush, the sight of so many armed men, marching in profound silence, was exceedingly interesting and impressive. A general halt was called at one point of the road, where some of the scouts thought they had discovered indications of an ambush. I had then an opportunity of observing a few of the native tactics. Coming immediately to myself, the king said, "*Misa Uesite, kocha te ke fai ekoe?*" "Mr. West, what will you do?" "Do?" I said; "remain where I am, if you think proper." "Very good," was the answer; and then he issued his orders. A strong party remained, where we were standing in the road, with the king and myself, whilst the remainder of the men spread out on either flank, to beat through the bush, and meet at a point agreed upon, to which the king's party was to advance on a given signal. All this movement was very rapidly accomplished. No ambush was discovered, and we soon reached Nukunuku in the midst of torrents of rain. Leaving the king there, I rode on to sleep at my

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own house in Hihifo, having arranged to be at Nukunuku shortly after daylight in the morning.

May 11th.—I reached Nukunuku during the king's morning assembly with his chiefs. I soon ascertained that something had happened to stop the intended peaceful mission to Houma. Reports had just been brought to the king, to the effect that the heathen of Houma had determined to kill any one, whether a Missionary or not, who might visit them on any such errand. The king asked me what I thought, and whether I was disposed to go, notwithstanding this report. I replied that my course would be determined according to the nature of the report. If it were only some ill-founded tale or rumour, I should not be deterred on that account; but if it had a good foundation, and was reliable, I could not feel myself justified in rushing knowingly into danger, and perhaps death. I begged him, therefore, first of all to ascertain the truth, or otherwise, of the report itself. Accordingly, inquiry was made, and the author proved to be a man who had recently deserted from the rebels. Upon being brought before the king for examination, he stated that the young chiefs had solemnly agreed to slay any messenger whom the king might send on a peace mission, even should the messenger be one of the Missionaries. We had every reason to believe the man's statement. Even if I had been willing to go, which, however, I was not, the king would not have allowed it. As it was, he led away his warriors without further delay to Houma, where, during the remainder of the day, an incessant fire was kept up upon the place, whilst I returned to Nukualofa, greatly disappointed that the object of my journey

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had not been accomplished. After giving all the information I could to my brethren, Adams and Amos, I rode home twelve miles to Hihifo.

Sabbath, June 20th.—I preached this morning at Hihifo, and in the afternoon I went to preach at Nukunuku, accompanied, as usual, by a body-guard of armed men. The Missionaries, throughout this war, have felt it to be their duty to visit regularly the few fortified towns, as well as the stockades and camps thrown up around Bea, for preaching and other spiritual purposes; but the king will not allow us to run the risk of travelling about alone. He has therefore ordered a guard of armed men always to go with us on such occasions. After preaching at Nukunuku, I mounted my horse, and, surrounded by my attendants, started for Hihifo. We had not gone more than half a mile when we were alarmed by the sound of a volley of musketry at no great distance behind us. Our first impression was that some one of our number had fallen behind, and had been fired upon by a concealed foe; but finding this was not the case, we began cautiously to retrace our steps. Another volley, and then the native shouts of triumph were heard, which convinced us that it was a friendly, and not a heathen, band. Hurrying forward, we met them in front of the entrance to Nukunuku, on their way to the presence of the chief, one of the band carrying in triumph a human arm dangling on the point of a spear. These men had been on patrol duty, and having fallen upon a small party of heathens, a skirmish had ensued, in which they had killed one man. They were now returning to Nukunuku with the bloody evidence of what had been done. Alas! that the Lord's

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798 669 ture; but he sternly resolved to push the war to a close before any foreign power could interfere.

[797] [648] As weeks rolled past, the Houmans, closely invested by the loyalists of Hihifo, began to suffer 798 669 from long confinement, and from the want of proper and sufficient food. They were wearied out, 726 by the harassing fire of small arms poured upon them, and by their necessarily ceaseless watchfulness at night. Their counsels became divided, [728] their courage began to flag; and, finally, they became willing to entertain any proposals for peace which the king might see fit to offer. They yielded just in time to save themselves from a great 798 calamity. Finding that, without the aid of addi- 669 tional numbers, Bea could not be completely in- 726 vested, the king had concluded to bring the siege 728 of Houma to a close, by storming it, so that the whole of the troops hitherto engaged there might be concentrated upon Bea. Some intimation of this intention reached the Houmans, who immediately opened private negotiations with the loyalists, through Tuivakano, the chief of Nukunuku. Upon hearing this, the king sent our old friend Hafoka, and two other chiefs, with a flag of truce to the enemy, demanding, for the last time, an unconditional surrender of the place, with the promise that no life should be taken. These terms were accepted by Vaea and Fohe, the two leading chiefs of the town, whereupon orders were issued for the total suspension of hostilities; and an hour on the following day was appointed, when the vanquished chiefs were to be brought before the king at his camp near Bea.

798 669 728 On the 12th of July, the camp of the Christians presented a stirring spectacle. Drums were beat-

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ing merrily, and shouts of triumph rent the air, to the great dismay of the enemy in Bea, who had received intelligence of the fall of Houma. The loyal troops were drawn up in two long lines, extending from the spot where the king and his chief men were seated, to the road by which the Houman chiefs were expected to approach.

At mid-day, Vaca and Fohe, accompanied by several younger chiefs, approached the king. They were clothed in old mats and tattered garments, with the usual garlands of *ifi* leaves round their necks, expressive of deep humiliation, and of expected punishment. They walked slowly along between the lines of armed men, in charge of a guard; but, when within a short distance of the king, they seemed overpowered by their fears, and placed themselves in the most submissive attitude, with hands clasped before them, and heads bent down toward the ground. Notwithstanding the promise of safety which they had received, they appeared to expect that the signal for death might be given at any moment. In the midst, however, of profound silence, the king's herald proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the prisoners should put off the *ifi* leaves from their necks, that being the signal that they had obtained mercy. *Kava* was then prepared, and the rebel chiefs were commanded to assume their accustomed place of rank in the circle of chiefs. This was an additional and most unexpected evidence of the king's clemency. That their lives should have been spared was a great boon; but that their rank should be continued was more than they could have expected, or could have felt that they deserved.

After the ceremony was over, the king ordered

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798 669 728 the men to be detained within his own camp during the night, where they received the most hospitable entertainment. But what formed the crowning glory of the day was the fact that, when the hour for evening devotions arrived, these pardoned rebels felt themselves constrained, by a strong sense of the truth and excellency of religion, to unite with their friends in bowing the knee in prayer before the great Jehovah.

798 669 727 728 On the following day, Vaea and Fohe returned to Houma, with a proclamation of free pardon for all the inhabitants, and a promise that none of their property should be destroyed or injured. At the same time, the town was to be held by a party of the king's men, until his further pleasure should be declared, as to the destruction, or otherwise, of its fortifications.

797 On the following Sunday, I visited the fort, arrangements having been made for holding a religious service, at which Vaea and Fohe wished to be present. Before commencing the service, the people had arranged for a grand fusillade in honour of the peace, and in testimony of their joy at abandoning heathenism. Volley after volley [202] [534] rent the air, for a considerable time; but, at a given signal, the firing ceased, and the drum, in the absence of a bell, having been beaten for public worship, I preached to a very large congregation of half-enlightened heathens. At this single service above one hundred persons formally renounced idolatry; and, from that day, regular Christian means of grace were established in Houma.

798 669 726 Meanwhile, the Bea fortress was besieged more closely than ever. Had not its inmates been still

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sustained by the hope of French aid, held out by the priests, the fall of Houma would most likely have been followed by their own immediate surrender. Instead of this, they continued defiant in tone, and boastful, in the highest degree. The king, however, was all the more resolved, that the appearance of any French ship of war should be the signal for an instant and overwhelming attack upon the Beans; which, if it had unhappily taken place, would probably have ended in their complete extermination.

On Sunday, the 8th of August, I was preaching at the camp of the Hihifo men, who, after the submission of Houma, removed to Bea to complete its investment. Intelligence came from the king, as the service was closing, that a ship of war was off the island; that it was yet uncertain to what nation it belonged; but that every man was to be at his post, ready to advance against the enemy's works, and to storm the place, from all sides, the moment it could be ascertained that the long-expected French ship had come. It was a solemn and most exciting time and scene. On the following morning, however, the ship came to anchor; and, instead of an enemy, proved to be a friend. It was H.B.M.S. "Calliope," commanded by Sir Everard Home, Bart., senior commander of H.M. ships on the Sydney and New Zealand naval stations, and who himself was a personal friend of King George. By his advice, after hearing the state of affairs, the king made another and final offer of peace, on the same terms of personal safety that had been offered to Houma, but with a distinct stipulation for the entire demolition of the defences of the town. This offer was accompanied by a letter

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798 to the French priests from the English commander,
669 stating his knowledge of the fact that, should this
728 offer of peace fail, the fortress would be stormed by the Tonguese, and would most assuredly be taken. In these circumstances, he offered them an asylum on board his ship. This offer the priests declined, signifying at the same time their willingness to abide the result. The fears, however, of the rebel chiefs were now considerably aroused; and their eyes were also opened to see, to some extent, the folly of trusting to French intervention. They accordingly determined to surrender at discretion. Maafu and Lavaka, the two leading chiefs, then came from Bea to meet the king, and to arrange the mode of submission. They intended to return immediately when the business was completed; but the king desired them to remain in his camp for the night, as a precaution against any treachery.

798 On the following morning, Sir Everard Home,
669 Mr. Adams, and myself, visited Bea. When about
727 halfway to the king's encampment, we met mes-
797 sengers posting down to Nukualofa, with the news that Bea was then being sacked. Upon hearing this, we rode forward with all speed, fearing lest the Christian party might be hurried into excesses, over which we should have to mourn. We resolved at all hazards to do our best to prevent bloodshed. Within half an hour after the king's army had taken possession of Bea, we entered it, and immediately sought for the king. We found him busy
[643] repressing the excitement of his men, and engaged in placing a guard for the protection of the property and houses of the French priests. There was great commotion, and already the town was set on
798 fire in several localities. It appeared that early in
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political agitation, and of actual civil war, should pass away without inflicting serious damage upon the spiritual character,. and interests, of our infant churches. The evil effects were painfully shown in the impaired tone of piety in many, the unsettledness of others, and the drifting away from the church of those who had more of the form than of the power of godliness. Diminution of numbers,—not so much, however, in Tongatabu itself as in the other groups of islands,—and of local finances, were the natural results of such a state of things, for a season. These serious evils were also aggravated by scarcity of provisions, and prevailing sickness, caused by the exposure and toil to which so many thousands of the male inhabitants had been subjected. The return of peace was hailed, therefore, by all with unfeigned delight; and we rejoiced, most of all, because the whole country was now open to receive Christian instruction. There was only one cause of anxiety still remaining. The French Priests were restless, and were openly bent upon further mischief. The priest who went away during the war to seek French aid, returned in a small trading vessel from Samoa; and when he found the war ended, declared that he would have ample reparation in due time. He subsequently departed for Tahiti, where he lodged certain charges and claims, against the Tonguese, before the French Governor.

Accordingly, on the 12th of November, 1852, a French ship of war, "La Moselle," commanded by Captain Belland, anchored off Nukualofa. The same priest who had gone to Tahiti was on board. We were told, by one of the respectable officers of the ship that this priest had been careful, during the

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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saw no merits whatsoever in the determination of the heathens to die for theirs. 669 727 798

Several months later, when Rabone himself passed through Hule on a trip from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa, he wrote:

> Hule is the place in which so many lost their lives when King George with his people attacked and destroyed their fortress this took place early in February last, and yet the bones of many are to be seen dried under the sun. I counted 12 skulls in a circumference of 3 square yards. Scores have been buried but many remain as visible mark of God's displeasure against sin—this was an awfully wicked fortress, but judgement has overtaken them and there scarcely remains one that escaped. (Rabone, Journal, 27 Sept. 1837)

Further skirmishes occurred and on 8 February Pea was again attacked, with the loss of thirteen heathens and three Christians. Meanwhile King George sent for reinforcements from Vava'u. 669 726 Referring to this new call up, Rabone (Journal, 16 Feb. 1837) wrote that if he understood it correctly, the intention was to make 'a desperate attack upon the Heathen who positively refuse to "lotu" or to turn to God without they do this there is no ground of hope for their being better subjects or in any respect'. At any rate, 200 or more men left Vava'u in four canoes in February with Rabone's prayer, 'O Lord do thou undertake for thy people and speedily bring the war to an end' (Rabone, Journal, 18 Feb. 1837).

Indeed, the war was speedily brought to an end, for with the 200 or more men as reinforcements, the heathens lost heart and ceased their offensive. King George was then able to extract from them a promise to desist from further persecution of Christians as a condition for peace. Although Aleamotu'a and King George were in a winning position, they did not wish to continue the war, thus supporting the missionaries' contention that the war was largely fostered by the heathen chiefs. 669 728

In April the warriors from the north returned to their respective places. Rabone (Journal, 12 April 1837) gave an account of the welcome back to Vava'u:

> We went down to welcome them back the sight was to me very affecting & interesting, . . . We indeed were glad to see them, and more especially when as soon as they spoke they attributed their

79: Lātūkefu H,1,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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669 728 salvation to God & our prayers for them, some say why what are they? They wonder they are alive but it must be because their friends have prayed much for them.

669 643 798 The fears of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu that King George might extend his campaign of destruction of the sacred places and effigies proved justified. Everywhere King George and his warriors went during the war they burnt down and destroyed god-houses, objects of worship, and sacred places. The *vao tapu* (sacred wood) of the famous sanctuary of Ma'ofanga, which had been so sacrosanct that no one could approach it, on pain of death, was cut down and sold to the sailors for firewood. Many of the warriors from the north took back with them, as souvenirs, pieces of wood made into staffs from this sacred place. Later in June, when peace had been restored, Rabone (Journal, 23 June 1837) wrote:

> Last night we walked out to the Mafanga of all others the most sacred place in these islands . . . King George . . . burnt down the spirit houses and now all appears desolation he has planted bananas on the most sacred ground and I was glad to see that the Gods & Devils had not prevented their growth they look well and promise abundant fruit in their season.

798 It was soon clear that, in spite of the return to peace, the heathens had not abandoned their resolve to stop the spread of Christianity. Unfortunately, the Christians themselves furnished some provocation which gave the heathens a pretext for further hostilities.

669 798 825 797 The first incident occurred on 25 July 1837. Describing what happened, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) wrote, 'I fired a loaded gun as a chief who was near the premises at the time rushed in and seized me attempting dragging me about vociferating in the most devilish manner . . . .' Rabone did not say what he was firing at, but Commodore Wilkes (1845:181) said that it was a sacred pigeon which was revered by the people. It is very likely that Rabone acted in ignorance. At Kolovai where he was stationed it was flying foxes and not pigeons which were regarded as sacred. In fact one of the most popular sports among the chiefs was catching pigeons. However, there was a *fa'ahinga* (clan) at Kolovai known as Matapā whose land was adjacent to

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79: ~Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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personal prowess as warriors they were revered by both Christians and heathens. They had, on several previous occasions, managed to exert their influence to avert armed clashes between the two factions of the Hihifo community.

War broke out in January 1840. The incident which triggered it was the removal of some sticks from one of the heathen god-houses by the Christians. Why they did so is not known, but the heathens were greatly angered, and were probably awaiting an opportunity such as this to make trouble. They attacked and killed four Christians, and war began. Aleamotu'a went to Hihifo, to try to make peace, but failed. Several other attempts at a settlement were made, but they also failed. Eventually Aleamotu'a sent for King George who arrived shortly after with his warriors from the north. Kolovai was besieged and surrendered after a short time, but Pea, Houma and Vainī continued to resist.

Commodore Wilkes arrived in Tonga on 24 April and offered to act as conciliator.[2] He was unsuccessful in his attempt and he blamed the missionaries for his failure. However, one of the missionaries wrote:

> An ill-arranged and fruitless attempt was made by Commodore Wilkes to bring the contending forces to peaceful terms. He seems to have acted upon the supposition that the heathen were the aggrieved and injured individuals; and when he found that these both duped him and robbed him, notwithstanding his good opinion of them, instead of manfully acknowledging that the representations made by the Missionaries were true, he left the islands in anger; and in evident chagrin at being outwitted and laughed at by the heathen, he

[2] Most writers state that the missionaries requested Wilkes to intercede, but Rabone (Journal, 24 April 1840), who was present, recorded: Commander Wilkes arrived—several gentlemen immediately came on shore and invited Bro T & myself on board—we went and have had a long conversation—principally in reference to the heathen & the present state of Tonga—he expressed his earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties and for the arrangement of this affair has requested a meeting of the Chiefs tomorrow morning. May the blessedness of peace making be his portion.
Wilkes (1845:179) states, 'Believing that I might exert an influence to reconcile the parties, and through my instrumentality restore the blessings of peace, I proffered my services to that effect, which were warmly accepted by the Reverend Mr. Tucker'.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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published opinions concerning the Missionaries of a damaging character, which had no foundation in justice or truth.[3] (West 1865:283)

It seems very likely too that the missionaries and their followers were hopeful that after the fall of Kolovai, the others would also surrender, but they were mistaken. They found that the resistance was much stronger and more determined than had been expected. As a result, they appealed to Captain Croker, who arrived on 21 June on the British sloop *Favourite*, to make peace (Thomson 1894:353-5). They regarded Croker's arrival as an act of providence; of it Rabone wrote (Journal, 21 June 1840), 'we view it as an interposition of our Heavenly Father and so hope his visit will be made a blessing'. Two days later he again wrote, 'we hope the coming of this vessel of the Lord—and that the interference of Capt. Croker may be owned of God and sanctioned by his Government tomorrow is the time fixed for the expedition' (Rabone, Journal, 23 June 1840). However, the expedition brought no immediate relief, for Croker was shot dead at Pea. When news of his death reached the missionaries they were confounded. Rabone (Journal, 24 June 1840) wrote:

> O what have we felt this day! Cap. C. dead—2 of the men likely to die to-night 17 or 18 men wounded . . . Guns etc left in the hands of the heathen. O my God! We stand confused and confounded! What shall we say or do? that ever a Cap C shd come here—a worthy—kind, good gentleman but no more!! Oh his poor wife and 5 or 6 children!! Lord, Lord pardon our sins and deliver us not unto the evil of our enemies. Great is the rejoicing of Satan and his host. A servant of God and England fallen . . . .

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Although the death of Croker appeared to be a triumph for the heathens, it actually caused them great alarm, for they feared

[3] Farmer (1855:320), claimed that the chiefs whom Commodore Wilkes saw were neutral and he did not contact the heathen chiefs who were directly involved in the war:

> Yet on the strength of his conversations with a neutral party, Commodore Wilkes concluded, to his own satisfaction, that the heathen party was desirous of peace, and that it was the fault of King George, and of the Missionaries, that the war continued to rage. Men who spend only eight days in a place ought to be careful how they express an opinion regarding the causes of the things that meet their eye.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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that more ships would be sent from Britain to revenge the Captain's death. They also grew tired of living within the confines of their fortress. For these reasons they were easily persuaded to accept peace. Fighting ceased after 26 June, an armed peace was restored, and Tonga enjoyed this condition for more than a decade. It looked as though Captain Croker's blood had not been shed in vain after all, and that the missionaries' belief that he had come by Divine Providence was somewhat vindicated, although the peace which they desired had been accomplished in a more tragic way than had been expected. Thomas, who was stationed in Vava'u at this time, went to Tongatapu in August and discussed peace terms with the heathen chiefs. King George stayed on in Tongatapu with some of his men till the latter half of the following year when they finally returned to their homes in the northern groups.

Although these wars were triggered off by religious disputes, they were endemic to the power struggle which had been going on in Tonga for many years, since the quarrel between Tuku'aho and Tupoumoheofo in the 1790s. Religion and politics were so intricately interwoven in the causes of the wars and in the determination of both sides to be victorious, that they may be more accurately termed religio-political wars than merely missionary wars or crusades, as Basil Thomson arbitrarily claimed them to be.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Evidently the Roman Catholic priests were dissatisfied with Captain Belland's decision in 1852, which exonerated King George's conduct during the civil war, and they determined to continue the fight. Three years later Father Calinon succeeded in having the case reopened, and in January 1855 he returned to Nuku'alofa with the French Governor of Tahiti. The Governor believed that King George had been treated too leniently by Captain Belland. The King was then 'required to sign on 9 January a treaty of peace and friendship reminiscent of those dictated by French Naval Officers in Tahiti and Hawaii in earlier years' (Morrell 1960:314). The treaty had already been prepared in advance for him to sign. It stated that there was to be perpetual peace and friendship between Tupou and Napoleon III; the Catholic church was declared free in all the islands of Tonga and its members were to have all the privileges accorded to Protestants; those who had been exiled or deprived of their property on account of religion were to be allowed to return to their homes and have their property restored; French subjects residing in Tonga and visiting ships and crews were to be protected in their persons and property by the King; French ships were to enjoy the most-favoured-nation privileges in regard to anchorage pilot dues and other charges; and King George's subjects were to have a right to the advantages accorded to the French in Tonga in all French possessions (West 1865:388-90).

Wood has rightly pointed out that the treaty was important as the first official recognition, by a foreign nation, of King George's sovereignty and Tonga's independence. It showed that he was regarded 'as fit to rule his country and to prevent trouble happening to Europeans resident in Tonga' (Wood 1932:56). Although this was quite true, the treaty was evidently designed as a means of promoting the interests of the Roman Catholic church and consequently of French imperialism. It gave the Catholic priests renewed determination, after the humiliating setbacks they had suffered in both their failure to achieve the conversion of the masses to their faith and in their political manoeuvring which had led to the civil war of 1852. The fall of Pea removed the last obstacle to King George's rule throughout the kingdom, and was at the same time a tremendous blow to the Catholic cause which had associated

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"smarting under the wrath of God".[39] He took every opportunity to plead with them to accept Christianity. He declared that "it had been not so much a war against man as against God".[40]

The terms of peace offered to the defeated chiefs, and accepted by them, were — to cease rebelling against the king, Aleamotu'a Tupou, not to persecute Christian converts, and to give liberty of conscience in religion (this to apply to both sides).[41]

When peace was made and the chiefs came to make their submission to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, wearing the traditional *ifi* leaves as tokens of surrender, Thomas said he wept to see so many chiefs,

> "sheep for whom the Great Shepherd gave His life and who had opposed God and were now in distress".[42]

All the rebel leaders were pardoned by Aleamotu'a and given their place in the kava ring as a proof of peace. Lavaka, the chief of Pea, was the only one to refuse submission although he did not continue fighting. In late April, Rabone reported hundreds of men were returning to Vava'u after the ending of hostilities.

A special District Meeting, on 4 May 1837, had to deal with a charge against Watkin, who confessed to a misdemeanour and left the district. His brethren who had highly esteemed him were greatly shocked; they recommended Watkin to the mercy of the Committee in London.[43] Hobbs and Rabone offered to pay Watkin's travelling expenses to England.[44] The mantle of God's forgiveness could have been cast over Watkin but, unfortunately, the Frenchman, Simonet, gave a magnified account of the incident. Watkin's subsequent record speaks for itself. In New Zealand and Australia he continued his ministry with fidelity and success. Soon after leaving Tonga he wrote the appeal, "Pity poor Fiji", which had a remarkable effect in British Wesleyan circles and led to the sending of greater support to the struggling mission in Fiji. In 1869 Watkin visited Tonga as a deputation from the Australian Church, and this in itself was incompatible with the allegation of a grave offence of which Watkin had not been guilty. Three of his sons became Wesleyan ministers; one of them, Jabez Bunting Watkin, born on 31 March 1837 at Lifuka, Ha'apai (where Mrs. Watkin had gone for safety during the war), gave lifelong service to Tonga.

In his reports to the Committee on 13 and 23 June, Thomas showed deeper concern about Watkin's case than the savage events of the war. His statement regarding the war was,

> "I am happy to have it in my power to inform you that the war in Tonga is ended, much to the honour of the true religion, and our good king George Taufa'ahau. . . . We have now opened places for preaching at all the principal heathen settlements in Tonga, and there is every prospect that in a short time all Tonga will turn unto God." [45]

> "The war has ended so much to the honour of Jehovah of Hosts and his glorious cause in these seas, our way being open to reoccupy Hihifo, also other heathen settlements. . . . The good efforts of this successful war with the heathen and their gods by our Christian kings and their people will be felt in all the islands of these seas, and that in consequence of Tongatapu having been conquered by the Ha'apai and Vava'u Christians thousands will turn unto God. As even the heathen themselves say, God, the true God, fought against them in the war and hence they had no courage and fell before the Christians like chaff." [46]

When peace enabled the work at Hihifo to be recommenced Rabone was appointed to this place by the District Meeting. He took up residence on 26 June 1837, occupying the mission house that had been built by Thomas in 1826

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[1839-1840]

refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men.

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker, recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill.

• • • •

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field, but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea, Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There was no lack of optimism with such a list! (60)

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

> "At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (61)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

> "It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from war when once commenced, in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old disposition of the people breaks through all."

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian minority in the district had built for their protection. (62)

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that

> "the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we are for peace, O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (63)

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The arrival of Taufa'ahau relieved Fo'ui, and this was followed by his offer of peace to Ata. The reply was that Taufa'ahau himself should enter Kolovai, the rebel fortress, for these discussions and should take with him only a very few followers. Before he could do this a deserter from Kolovai came with the news that a plot had been made to kill Taufa'ahau as soon as he entered the fort. Subsequently Ata admitted that this was true.(64)

It was under these circumstances that Taufa'ahau and his men advanced against Kolovai, but forbore to attack it at once. He addressed his men with these words:

> "We did wrong in the last war" (1837) "when we did not fight as Christians; then our object was more to kill than to save. Now, I tell you all that we must not fight in that way again. If the enemy come out of their fort to-morrow morning, every man must try to seize and save them, but not to shoot or strike, except in a case of life or death." (65)

During the siege the mission-house, which had been built by Thomas in 1826 and stood outside the Kolovai fort, was burnt by the rebels. For more than a fortnight after the siege began no attack was made. Taufa'ahau sent messages to Ata making it clear that no one was obliged to accept Christianity and only peace itself was desired. At last he told his men to invite any of their relatives or friends within the fort to leave. So many accepted this invitation that, when the besieged moved forward to the attack, the reduced garrison surrendered immediately and opened the gate. All the 500 defenders of Kolovai, together with their property, were spared. On 29 February, three days after the surrender, Rabone visited Ata and his wife; he reported,

> "They appeared to feel their situation but are thankful for their lives, for well they know that, had George been still heathen, few of them would have been alive this day." (66)

The rebels still at arms at Pea and elsewhere numbered 1,400. Taufa'ahau's army was 900 strong. As the rebels, especially at Pea, were still defiant and Aleamotu'a's position was far from secure, Taufa'ahau remained in Tongatapu. Travellers along the roads and men working in their gardens were frequently ambushed and killed by parties from the fort at Pea.

The next important event was the visit of Commodore Charles Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, who arrived at Nuku'alofa with two ships of his squadron on 24 April 1840. Upon his arrival Rabone and Tucker went on board his ship, *Vincennes*, and discussed the unsettled state of Tongatapu with him. "He expressed an earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties," Tucker said. The following day the Commodore and officers came ashore and met Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau with their chiefs. Wilkes remarked on the martial appearance of the whole party and thought it inconsistent with a desire for peace. He could hardly be expected to know the typical Tongan habit of making a good showing before visitors; but he was told that, in fact, an attack had been made by the rebels the night before and that preparations were on foot to repel any further attack, hence the appearance of Taufa'ahau's forces.

The Commodore brought a written document which proposed a meeting between the leaders of both parties, and the two kings agreed to this. Rabone, however, thought the American visitor too sanguine through his ignorance of the state of affairs:

> "No one who heard him (except it may be his officers) believes for a moment that the heathen chiefs would meet Josiah and George." (67)

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A message was sent to the rebel party by a high emissary, the daughter of Fatu of Mu'a, asking the leaders — Fatu, Lavaka (Pea), and Vaea (Houma) — to attend a conference on the island of Pangaimotu, three miles from Nuku'alofa, as neutral ground. A tent was erected for the expected leaders and provisions were placed there by the Americans. The next day, the wife of Fatu, instead of the chief himself, came with a few followers; they were accompanied by "an old blind chief who had little or nothing to do with the government" [68] and also an Englishman from the rebel side, "twofold more a heathen than the heathen themselves" (so Rabone wrote). Before Taufa'ahau's party came the following day the rebel representatives left and took the food with them. The fact that the rebel leaders did not appear, Rabone believed, must have made the Commodore realize that they were not serious about negotiating for peace. Tucker made a similar comment; he wrote,

> "This has opened the Commodore's eyes; he sees his endeavour to make peace was useless; it is evident that the heathen are bent on war." [69]

However, Wilkes shows in his *Narrative* that he had not formed this opinion. He criticized Taufa'ahau for coming a day later than the appointed day rather than the rebel leaders who did not come at all.

Soon afterwards Wilkes sent some of his officers to Mu'a to talk to the rebel leaders. Fatu told them that the war was due to Taufa'ahau's ambition to conquer Tongatapu and also his desire to force everyone to accept Christianity. Who interpreted this conversation with the American officers is not clear but it was probably the Englishman who had gone with the party to Pangaimotu. Why Wilkes accepted uncritically these statements is not easily understood. He wrote that he felt a sympathy with the people of Mu'a and Pea because they regarded themselves as superior to the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u and, on this ground, they disdained to accept the new religion as the people in the northern groups had done.[70]

Wilkes believed that Taufa'ahau and the missionaries were more to blame for the war than the rebels. He wrote:

> "I satisfied myself that it was in a great measure a religious contest, growing out of the zeal the missionaries have to propagate the Gospel and convert the heathen. With this is combined the desire of King George who is already master of Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess himself of all the islands of the group." [71]

Wilkes was only ten days in Tongatapu and in that time could not become fully acquainted with the politics of Tonga and the attitude of the Ha'a Havea chiefs towards the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Another statement he made shed a little more light on the situation:

> "Josiah's domain may now be said to be circumscribed to the town of Nuku'alofa, and, if it had not been for the timely aid of Taufa'ahau, he would in all probability ere now have been driven from his kingdom." [72]

The opinions of Commodore Wilkes are entitled to respect but it may be noted that Basil Thomson, despite his many criticisms of Wesleyan missionaries in general, did not believe that Wilkes was justified in his strictures against Taufa'ahau, Rabone and Tucker. He wrote,

> "Although the result of the war was the advancement of the interests both of the king and the missionaries, I see no reason to believe that either were disinclined for peace." [73]

At another point Wilkes was properly critical of Rabone and Tucker. He commented:

> "While I bear witness to the arduous labours and well-conducted operations of these missionaries I was disappointed in finding religious intolerance existing among them."[74]

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A vessel, *Currency Lass*, called at Nuku'alofa during Wilkes's visit, after five months at sea; it had on board two French Roman Catholic priests bound for Uvea. Wilkes remarked on their not being invited to the mission-house but left on board. He was justified in regarding this as a breach of courtesy and hospitality, although he did not know the sectarian feeling aroused by the attempts already made to place priests at Vava'u, an entirely evangelized island, as well as the tragic religious strife prevailing at Uvea at that time. It was, unfortunately, one of the acts of passive hostility common between Protestants and Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific Islands in the mid-19th Century.

Wilkes placed a high estimate upon Taufa'ahau, with his height and athletic build, as well as his deference to Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu.

> "He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed that he was in the habit of commanding those about him." (73)

Aleamotu'a, on the other hand, spent his time in playing with his grandchildren, making sinnet (cord from coconut fibre), or dozing. Wilkes was impressed with the physical appearance and mental alertness of Taufa'ahau's men,

> "some of the finest specimens of the human race that can well be imagined, surpassing by symmetry and grace those of all the other groups we had visited." (74)

He wrote appreciatively of Tucker and still more of Mrs. Tucker, commenting on the success of her school; he thought less favourably of Rabone and believed him to be aggressive. On 4 May Wilkes left for Fiji. Even in his short stay of ten days he had not been on shore every day. He acknowledged his indebtedness to Tucker and Rabone for the descriptions of Tongan customs and traditions which he recorded in his *Narrative*.

Only four days after Wilkes left, attacks were made on the kings' supporters working in their gardens. In the week before the next visitor, Captain Croker; came four old men were killed and their heads cut off as trophies. One night Aleamotu'a and some of his people slept outside the mission-house for its protection against a threatened attack. Rabone write in his *Journal*,

> "O God, we long for that day when Tonga shall be in peace from one end to another. . . . Lord, end these days." (77)

One of the most tragic days in this period was 24 June 1840, when Captain Croker was killed at Pea. First, it is worthy of note that his sloop, H.M.S. *Favourite*, had brought from Erromanga, New Hebrides, what he believed were the mortal remains of the L.M.S. missionaries, John Williams and William Harris, for burial near the L.M.S. church in Apia, Samoa. It has been felt that the natives on Erromanga either deliberately deceived Croker or misunderstood him and allowed him to take from a cave remains which may not have been those of the missionaries who had been killed on their island on 20 November 1839. The L.M.S. historian in Samoa, Dr. G. A. Turner,(78) believed that the natives did not understand Croker's request because he had no interpreter. From Samoa Croker sailed to Vava'u and Nuku'alofa.

In view of the criticism concerning Croker's intervention and his death, what Thomas as well as Rabone and Tucker actually wrote at the time was important. Croker called at Vava'u on 10 June 1840. John Thomas, as Chairman of the Mission, asked him to intervene and make peace in Tongatapu. He wrote,

> "The state of war was begun by the heathen chiefs against King Josiah . . . All means used to restore peace having failed . . . we have much reason to fear that the consequences will be a still further loss of human life, both of heathen and Christians, a circumstance which we as missionaries deeply deplore but which we have no means to prevent. I do

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> earnestly hope that you will visit Tonga (= Tongatapu) at this critical time and you may be the means of inducing the heathen to discontinue the war." (79)

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Thomas also showed Croker a copy of Dillon's charges against him. The captain was highly indignant with Dillon's "most infamous letter" (80) and said that he would expose the lies on his return to England.(81) The strong sympathy with the missionaries that Croker felt affected his actions in the lamentable event in Tongatapu.

On reaching Nuku'alofa on 21 June, Captain Croker was met by Tucker and Rabone who presented a written request the next day:

> "We strongly implore, as British subjects and Christian missionaries, your protection and assistance on behalf of ourselves and families. In consequence of the civil war which is now raging on this island our lives and property are in great danger day and night. Our premises stand outside the fort and are, consequently, comparatively unprotected; and we have no means at our command of removing to a place of safety. . . . The heathen have tried to fix on a plan to take Nuku'alofa by storm, but have been mercifully prevented. They have repeatedly made incursions, both by day and night, to within a short distance of this place. . . . We earnestly beg you . . . to assist us in the removal of our families to some place of safety." (82)

As the missionaries were criticized for leaving after the defeat at Pea, their request before Croker went there should be remembered.

Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau joined with the missionaries in asking Croker to be a peacemaker on the conditions he had drawn up. These were, that all fighting should cease forthwith, all forts of both parties dismantled, and that every man should return to his own village.

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On the morning of 24 June the captain took his men and three guns to Pea (a distance of about four miles) and was allowed to enter the fort for a parley. The chiefs in Pea were given only half an hour to consider the terms, Croker apparently thinking that longer time might enable them to get reinforcements from Houma or elsewhere while pretending to be still considering the peace terms. Pea was a strong fort, with an earth-embankment 20 feet high and a trench 40 feet wide, and the only entrance was secured with piled-up coconut trunks. Two runaway English sailors, who had been living with the Tongan rebels for some time, were prominent in the defence of the fort. Croker had placed his carronades within musket-shot of the fort. When the half-hour was nearly over, a sailor, nicknamed Jemmy the Devil, appeared at the gate and asked Croker for a little more time; actually, the chiefs had almost agreed on accepting the terms. Croker, holding his watch, refused to wait. Exactly on time, he ran forward, sword in hand, calling out, "Now, bluejackets, follow me". Instantly the defenders opened fire, both with a carronade at the gateway and muskets through loopholes in the stockade. Almost at once Croker was wounded, but he still gallantly tried to reach the gate before being compelled through weakness to lean against a tree where he was shot again, this time through the heart. Two others were fatally shot and eighteen sailors were wounded. The rest brought all the wounded with their captain's body back to Nuku'alofa, leaving their three guns with the rebels.

Rabone gave a vivid description of the events of those days.

> "21 June. He [Croker] has called here at considerable expense of time and provisions to see if he can render any assistance towards establishing a peace."
>
> "23 June. Captain Croker is determined to take a force, guns and ammunition, to Pea, and so, in case of their objecting to his terms of peace, to drive them out of their fortress. We fear they [= Croker and his men] may be foolhardy and suffer for it, but we are at a loss what to say or think. . . ."

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"24 June. O what a day! Captain Croker and his people to the number of 100 or more left here . . . for Pea. They arrived about 10 o'clock, and soon a message was brought here that Captain Croker was admitted into the fortress and that the heathen were willing to make peace. Scarcely had we given thanks to God in our minds for this joyful news but we heard the reports of guns . . . We supposed what we after knew was the case; that the heathen had at first professed willingness to accede to terms of peace, but that their object was something very different from that. But O, what a tale did we soon hear, that Captain Croker had determined on attacking the fortress and himself led the way without first battering at it with his large guns. The heathen waited for them, and Captain Croker was shot dead . . . Two of the men likely to die tonight, 17 or 18 more wounded, among them 1st Lieut. and 3rd Lieut. . . . Our hearts were broken when today they brought the dear captain, wrapped up in coconut leaves . . . O, his poor wife, and 5 or 6 children! . . ."

"25 June. This morning Mr. Dunlop, 2nd Lieut., came on shore and informed us that the two poor fellows whom we feared concerning were no more and that they and Captain Croker would all be buried on shore this afternoon. We learnt from Mr. Dunlop that Captain Croker had left directions with Mr. Simmons, purser, that in case he should fall at Pea, what to do with his effects on board the vessel and where he wished to be buried. He had chosen to be interred near the chapel, inside the fence, facing the anchorage." [The grave is still to be seen on Zion hill.] "There are many most remarkable circumstances connected with this disaster, which go to show that it would appear Captain Croker had some presentiment of his death. We all remarked his manner on leaving us, we shook hands and he would proceed a few paces, return and again shake hands, then kissed the children . . ." (83)

The brave but imprudent captain was criticized for taking a large force with guns to Pea when his purpose was to offer peace; for placing the guns so close to the fort that the gunners could easily be shot; for not using the guns but relying on a charge of his sailors. Certainly he acted in ignorance or disregard of the strength of the fort and the resolute character of its 400-500 defenders. The rebel chiefs afterwards said that they had conversed with Croker in a friendly manner, that they were willing to accept the terms, and they were surprised when he attacked exactly at the end of the half-hour.(84)

Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, as the British authority concerned with incidents affecting British subjects as well as British warships in the South Seas, received a report from the acting commander of H.M.S. *Favourite*, Mr. Dunlop, when the sloop arrived at Sydney. Sir George was told that Captain Croker was "induced by the representatives of the Wesleyan Mission resident on the island to endeavour to effect peace, either by conciliation or force".(85) He gave the facts as narrated in the above paragraphs and made no comment in his report to the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Mission's version of the Governor's report was that he had found

"that the missionaries did in no wise dictate to Captain Croker as to what measures he ought to adopt but were anxious for conciliation." (86)

On 22 August Lieut. Dunlop wrote to Sir George Gipps asking for a military force of about 120 men with two field pieces to be sent to Tongatapu to recover the three guns (two long 6-pounders and one 12-pounder). This request was sent to the Admiralty but no action was taken.(87)

Criticisms were levelled against Rabone and Tucker for removing to Vava'u on H.M.S. *Favourite* after Croker's death. Actually, their predecessors had done the same in 1835 and 1837. Their mission-houses were in an exposed position, the women and children had found it necessary to enter the fort hurriedly when attacks were imminent, and guards had been placed outside the mission-houses

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at night-time. Nevertheless, Rabone, when in Vava'u with his family, noted in his Journal on 18 July, 797

> "We hear some reports that the kings are displeased at our coming away, but we thought it prudent so to do, and our brethren all say the same." (88) 669 798

Thomas recorded that "King Josiah talked of casting us off and sending for missionaries from Tahiti" (= L.M.S.) and of employing a Tahitian Christian then living in Nuku'alofa as his missionary.(89) Evidently this mood soon passed.

At the earliest opportunity Thomas and Tucker came from Vava'u and visited Pea. They were allowed to enter this fort, and others, and to preach to the people within. Thomas was evidently *persona grata* with Fatu, Vaea and other rebel chiefs. He reported to the Committee in London that the heathen chiefs as well as the Christians had urgently asked him to move permanently to Nuku'alofa, and his wife wrote that "the heathen call my husband their *Fakamo'ui* which means saviour or deliverer".(90)

The rebels accepted peace terms on 15 August. Whether the missionaries' persuasions were responsible for this, or whether the rebels' first feelings of elation at the repulse of a party from a British warship had turned to some alarm lest dire punishment be meted out to them by a larger vessel, the result was peace. It was unfortunate that the terms did not include what Croker had realized was essential for continued peace — the dismantling of all forts. 669 798 728

Thomas stated that the rebels admitted that in the 1837 war it was their persecution of the Christians in Tongatapu that began the hostilities, but they said this was not the case in 1840 and they pointed to Wesleyan chapels standing outside the forts at Mu'a, Pea and Houma, as evidence that they were no longer persecutors. Thomas was also concerned about the conduct of some of the kings' forces. In July 1840 he wrote, 669 798

> "I have lifted up my voice like a trumpet against the sins of God's people in wishing to kill the heathen solely because they were heathen. I am compelled to believe that the heathen in Tongatapu have been ill-used by persons professing to be Christians." (91)

He stated that he had impressed upon the kings' forces that they should observe the principle, "from those to whom much is given much will be required". He added, evidently in reference to certain savage acts,

> "The kings and the Christian chiefs were not aware of the facts at the time." (92)

It was because of these things that Thomas asked Taufa'ahau and Aleamotu'a to call a "fast day of humiliation before God". This was observed in the new fort (Taufa'ahau's) at Kolofo'ou, Nuku'alofa, with many hundreds present and Thomas preaching.(93) [728]

In March 1841, John Waterhouse, General Superintendent of the Missions, visited Tongatapu. Waterhouse (1789-1842) was a Yorkshireman, appointed, with headquarters in Hobart, to supervise the whole of the Wesleyan Missions. He took over these duties from Orton in 1839. He was an experienced and capable minister who had laboured in English circuits for 29 years. Three of his sons became Wesleyan ministers, two of them missionaries in Fiji. No minister has left so many descendants who have served in Australian Overseas Missions as the names of Waterhouse in several generations, as well as Lelean, Churchward, Allen, and Oakley, bear witness. Waterhouse made two extensive tours of the South Seas in 1840 and 1841, each involving an absence of five months from home, and including New Zealand, Tonga (with visits to Niua Toputapu and 797

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[1852]

On 27 June Father Calignon, who had been in Pea throughout this period, went to Tahiti saying that he would return with a warship. 643 669

Houma surrendered on 11 July after the king had sent offers of peace several times. When the chiefs Vaea and Fohe made their submission to the king, they were freely pardoned, were given their places in the king's kava ring, and had their positions fully recognized.(43) 797 [728]

Before war was declared on 1 March, and several times since then, the king had asked the French priests to leave Pea lest anything happen to create a difficulty with the French Government. They were offered refuge in Nuku'alofa or Mu'a. It was greatly to the priests' credit that they said they would remain with their converts in the fort. They had also declined to sail to Tahiti with the warship *Henri* in April. The defenders of Pea were determined to hold out, believing that a warship would come any day to their assistance, especially as Father Calignon had gone to Tahiti for this purpose. The king's army had orders to attack Pea immediately upon a French ship being sighted.

On 9 August a warship hove in sight, but it proved to be H.M.S. *Calliope*, Captain Sir Everard Home, Senior Commander of the Sydney and New Zealand stations, who had met the king on a previous visit. Captain Home at once offered to make peace, if possible. He sent a letter to the priests offering them safety on his ship; again they declined. The terms he proposed were that all the rebels would be spared on condition that all fortifications were levelled and every man returned to his own town. At first the rebel chiefs asked that the king's son and a Wesleyan missionary should be sent to Pea as hostages for the chiefs' safety when they surrendered; this the king declined to do. Ma'afu and Lavaka then came to the king's camp and told him that they were willing to accept the terms. Before they returned to their fort next morning, however, it had been captured. 669 797 728

Early that morning, 17 August, the Vava'u division noticed that the gate opposite them was unguarded, probably because the defenders believed that a surrender was almost decided upon. Instantly the Vava'u men, always prone to excitement ("the Irish of Tonga" they have been called), entered the fort with loud shouts. They were followed by the rest of the king's forces and the burning of houses inside the fort began. The victors were getting out of hand. Captain Home, on his way from Nuku'alofa, with the missionaries, West and Amos, hurried forward and found that the king was checking the destruction of property. Special care was taken to prevent damage to the priests and their possessions. Unfortunately, their chapel was already in flames, but its contents as well as the priests' residence and their personal property were saved. No lives were lost in the capture of Pea. The king's clemency, as at Houma a few weeks before, had a healing effect. Not long afterwards Ma'afu and Lavaka came to the missionaries and thanked them for their part in bringing peace and a general amnesty.(44) On the day following the capture the king ordered the fortifications of Pea to be levelled. The last fight in Tonga was over.

Captain Home sailed away seven days later, but before leaving he wrote to Tupou verifying the efforts he had made to protect the lives and property of the priests at Pea. This proof was useful when the long-expected French warship came on 12 November 1852. Captain Belland, *La Moselle*, inquired into the complaints taken to Tahiti by Father Calignon. After a full investigation he expressed himself as satisfied with the king's account of what had happened. West 648 643